THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

# ROUND TABLE

AUG 7

# PUERTO RICO

WOMEN'S COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

*A Radio Discussion by*

EARL HAMILTON, LUIS MUÑOZ-MARÍN
MARTIN TRAVIESO *and* QUINCY WRIGHT

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# *Around the Round Table . . . .*

EARL HAMILTON, professor of economics at Duke University, received his B.S. degree at Mississippi State College. He attended the University of Texas and Harvard University, where he was granted his A.M. and Ph.D. degrees. Professor Hamilton was a traveling fellow from Harvard University to Spain in 1926–27, and in 1927 he went to Duke University. He has done extensive research in Spanish, French, and Italian archives and also in Peru and Colombia. He has served on the International Scientific Committee on Price History and as lecturer at the Universidad Internacional (Santander, Spain). He is the author of *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain* (*1501–1650*) (1934); *Money, Prices, and Wages in Valencia, Aragon, Navarre* (*1351–1500*) (1936); and *Money and Prices in Spain* (*1651–1800*) (1942). He is a regular contributor to professional and learned journals.

LUIS MUÑOZ-MARÍN, president of the Senate of Puerto Rico, graduated from Georgetown University in 1916. He became secretary to the Puerto Rican representative in Washington, 1916–18; editor of *La Revista de Indias* (magazine devoted to Pan-American culture), 1918–19; and a leader in the Pan-American labor movement and in the movement for Latin-American unity. He has been editor and publisher of *La Democracia* (daily newspaper) since 1932. Elected senator-at-large in Puerto Rico in 1932, he founded and became president of the Popular Democratic party in 1938. He has been president of the Puerto Rican Senate since 1940. Besides being a contributor to the *Nation*, *New Republic*, *Baltimore Sun*, and *American Mercury*, he is the author of *Borrones* (1917); *Madre Haraposa* (in collaboration) (1917); and also the section entitled "Puerto Rico, the American Colony," in *These United States* (1925).

MARTIN TRAVIESO, associate justice of the Puerto Rican Supreme Court since 1936, received his A.B. from the Institute of Puerto Rico in 1899 and his LL.B. from Cornell University in 1903. After admission to the New York bar in 1903 he practiced law in New York City and in Puerto Rico. He was a member of the Executive Council of Puerto Rico, 1908–14; was secretary of state and acting governor of Puerto Rico, 1914–17; was a member of the Dominican Claims Commission, 1917–19, and of the Puerto Rican Senate, 1917–20; and was mayor of San Juan, 1920–23.

QUINCY WRIGHT, professor of international law at the University of Chicago, received his undergraduate training at Lombard College and was granted his A.M. and Ph.D. degrees at the University of Illinois. Before coming to the University of Chicago, he taught political science at Harvard University and the University of Minnesota. In 1918 and 1921 he served as a special assistant on international law to the United States Navy Department. He is a member of the board of editors of the *American Journal of International Law* and the author of many books on international relations, among which are: *Enforcement of International Law through Municipal Law in the United States* (1916); *Control of American Foreign Relations* (1922); *Mandates under the League of Nations* (1930); *The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace* (1935); and the recent authoritative two-volume work, *A Study of War* (1942).

# PUERTO RICO

MR. WRIGHT: Among post-war problems one of the most important is that of colonial areas. Puerto Rico is a test case for the United States in this field. It is an island in the Caribbean Sea and a colony of the United States. Originally a Spanish colony, it came under our flag when we won the Spanish-American War. Discovered by Columbus in 1493, Puerto Rico is being discovered by the United States in 1943.

MR. HAMILTON: Puerto Rico is one of the key islands in the defense zone of the Pan-American Area.

The island is about fourteen hundred miles southeast of New York. It has a population of two million people, slightly less than the average population of the average state. It's about one hundred miles long and some forty miles wide, approximately the size of the state of Connecticut. Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States.[1]

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[1] The first Organic Act of 1900 (the Foraker Act) that was passed by Congress put limitations on the exercise of self-government that were unsatisfactory to the Puerto Ricans. As a result, Congress passed the Jones Act, a new Organic Act, which came into effect on March 2, 1917. Under its terms Puerto Rico became a territory of the United States "organized but unincorporated," and citizenship of the United States was conferred collectively on Puerto Ricans, allowing the right to retain the old status if preferred. Only 288 persons so declared. Under the provisions of the Jones Act the governor's term is made dependent on the pleasure of the President of the United States. Six executive departments were created: justice, finance, interior, education, agriculture, and labor and health. Of these, the heads of the departments of education and justice are appointed by the President, the others by the governor. The President also appoints the auditor and the members of the Supreme Court. The legislature consists of 19 senators and 39 representatives, all elected by the people. A resident

Judge Travieso, won't you give us some of your observations on Puerto Rico?

MR. TRAVIESO: In connection with our citizenship, I want to make it clear that Puerto Ricans are proud of their American citizenship, and ever since they have been citizens of the United States they have been loyal and true to that citizenship, especially during World War I. And, now during the present war, it was not necessary to apply to the island the draft law. We had so many volunteers to serve under our flag that it was not necessary to enforce the draft law.

I have heard reference to Puerto Rico as a "test case," and I would like my friend, Muñoz-Marín, to reply to that phrase, "Puerto Rico as a test case."

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: As a test case in colonial policy?

MR. TRAVIESO: Colonial policy.

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: I think that the only American way of dealing with the problem of colonies is by not having colonies.

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commissioner to the United States, paid by the federal government, is elected by popular vote for a term of four years; he represents the Island in the United States House of Representatives, with a voice but without vote, and is recognized by all departments in Washington. There are four political organizations in the island—Union Republican, Socialist, Unification, and Popular Democratic. At the 1940 election the two first named united on the same candidates, electing the resident commissioner. Groups of both of these parties voted with the Liberals. The Popular Democratic party won the largest number of seats in the legislature. The issues are mainly local, but there is great diversity of opinion as to what the future status of the island should be. All parties, however, seem practically united on the demand that the island be given the right to elect its own governor. Elections are held every four years. Suffrage is universal (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

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# THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF PUERTO RICO

MR. WRIGHT: Senator Marín, I suppose that you'd agree that there are problems connected with Puerto Rico.

I noticed recently in *Harper's* the reference to Puerto Rico as an American slum, and *Life* had this statement: "The cesspool of Puerto Rico has been festering in our backyard for over forty years."[2] Those statements indicate that there is a problem, and they suggest that one of the great problems is overpopulation or underfeeding of the population.

MR. HAMILTON: Puerto Rico contains over two million people, who are supported on approximately 2,200,000 acres of land, only 38 per cent of which can be cultivated in harvestable crops. This gives Puerto Rico a density of population of 558 per square mile, as compared with 688 for Belgium and 734 for England.

MR. WRIGHT: That's pretty dense, isn't it?

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[2] See S. Burton Heath's article "Our American Slum, Puerto Rico," *Harper's*, June, 1943, and the article on "Puerto Rico" in *Life*, March 8, 1943.

MR. HAMILTON: By 1960, with the present rate of population growth, the population will be about three million, which will give it a population in excess of that of such manufacturing countries as Belgium and England. This points, in my opinion, clearly to the necessity of developing manufactures in Puerto Rico if the population problem and the problem of poverty, closely associated with it, can be solved.

MR. WRIGHT: Most of these people are engaged in agriculture now, aren't they, Judge Travieso?

MR. TRAVIESO: Yes. The main problem of Puerto Rico is that we are considered, and we really are, an agricultural country, densely populated. Most of the agricultural countries everywhere have an immense amount of land in proportion to population. In Puerto Rico we have the reverse.

And the only solution for the Puerto Rican problem is to industrialize the country so as to provide work for our excess labor or to have more land. And, of course, the solution of having more land is impossible. We are an island.

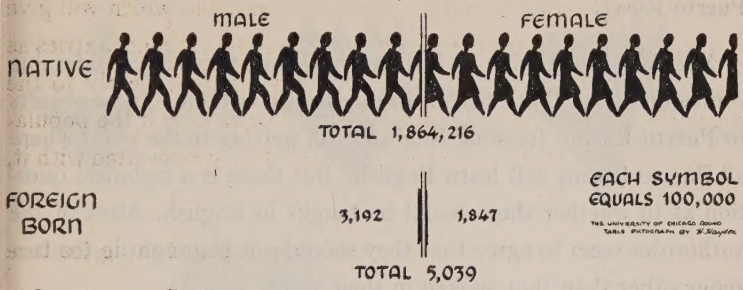
MR. WRIGHT: Then you've got the absentee ownership of land and of industry. Senator Marín, isn't this an important problem?

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: Well, the problem of population I like to see from a different angle. I don't know whether there is overpopulation in Puerto Rico or not. It may not necessarily be overpopulation. It may be insufficient justice in the distribution of the wealth it produces and insufficient production of that wealth.

MR. WRIGHT: Well, that raises the question of whether distribution can solve a problem where there is actually insufficient production to maintain the people with a high standard of living.

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: Well, I believe that a fair distribution of

# POPULATION OF PUERTO RICO




Source: 1940 Census

what it produces is a necessary first step, but it is not enough. That is quite clear; we must increase production.

MR. TRAVIESO: Of course, I think we can maintain the two million people on the island if we give them work. The question is that we have too many people and too little work for them to do.

MR. WRIGHT: We agree that there is poverty in Puerto Rico. We also, I believe, agree that the health conditions are not what we would like to have them. Housing conditions are bad. And what about education?

MR. TRAVIESO: Well, our education has progressed considerably, although it hasn't reached the point where it should be. Compared with what it was forty-five years ago, we have made tremendous progress.

Our total insular budget forty-five years ago was about two hundred thousand dollars. We are spending now as much as we can—a little more than eight million dollars. But, even with that expenditure, we have only about one-half of the children of school age able to attend school because we have no more facilities for the others.

MR. WRIGHT: That means a great deal of illiteracy, I presume. Senator Marín, what about the conditions of literacy and bilingual-

ism? Is the knowledge both of Spanish and of English developing in Puerto Rico?

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: It is developing, but there is considerable confusion about that. No one in Puerto Rico whom I know objects to Puerto Ricans' learning English or of getting to the point where all Puerto Ricans will learn English. But there is a technical question as to whether they should be taught in English. Most of the authorities seem to agree that they should not be taught in the language other than that spoken in their home.

MR. WRIGHT: That has certainly a great deal of importance for the future destiny of Puerto Rico. And that raises the question of what the United States has done for Puerto Rico.[3] Have we improved the situation, Mr. Hamilton, do you think?

MR. HAMILTON: Apparently the standard of living in Puerto

[3] Means of transport, educational facilities, and medical facilities have improved since the American occupancy. Social legislation has been extended to Puerto Rico, which is now one of the most advanced of the states or territories which have adopted such laws. Chief among the laws bettering conditions of labor are the following: a law regulating working hours in public works; providing for the sale of public lands to laborers; determining the procedure of claims for wages; fixing the duties of employers in case of strikes; establishing workmen's settlements in the principal cities; providing a free dispensary with minor surgeons in shops and factories; regulating the weights to be carried by laborers; providing for the settlement of strikes and lockouts; establishing a minimum wage for women and for laborers on public works; regulating the work of women and children and protecting them from dangerous occupations; creating a homestead commission; regulating the employment of minors and providing for the compulsory attendance of children in schools; regulating contracts for wages; providing workmen's accident, sickness, and death compensation; creating a general employment agency. But these welfare measures failed to solve the problems of the increasingly overpopulated island with its agrarian economy. Recurring hurricanes, as in 1928 and 1932, joined with declining exports to aggravate the economic distress of the depression. The quota limitations on sugar and the application of the Fair Labor Standards Act to Puerto Rico caused a critical condition of unemployment principally among farm workers and needle-workers (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

# IS PUERTO RICO OVERPOPULATED?

Source: Department of Interior

Rico is only slightly higher than it was at the time that the island was conquered by the United States in 1898. In the last forty-five years the chief benefits from the introduction of American capital, technical skill, education, and scientific knowledge have been received through an increase in the number of people supported at approximately the same level.

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: May I say something about that?

MR. WRIGHT: Senator Marín.

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: Now we have these figures. In the last twenty years the production of sugar has increased 120 per cent—and sugar is the chief industry in Puerto Rico—while the population

has increased only 30 per cent; yet the standard of living of the masses of people engaged in the production of sugar has not increased in any such proportion.

MR. WRIGHT: That suggests something wrong about distribution and the second general topic which I think we should consider in this ROUND TABLE, namely, What are we to do about the situation which we have described?

The problem of land distribution is one that, I understand, has ignited a great deal of dynamite in Puerto Rico. Senator Marín you've been prominent in that controversy. What about better land distribution?

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: The best lands in Puerto Rico have been practically monopolized by the large sugar corporations. We are in favor of, and through our present legislation are working toward, breaking up this monopoly, not necessarily by distributing the land in every case but by making the benefits of the land reach the people of Puerto Rico at large instead of being beneficial to a few corporations only—or mainly, I should say.[4]

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[4] "[In 1941] the Puerto Rican legislature created the Autoridad de Tierras de Puerto Rico. The agrarian policy now proposed has been defined as necessary action to put an end to the existing corporative latifundia in the island, block their reappearance in the future, and insure to individuals the conservation of their land; to assist in the creation of new landowners; to facilitate the utilization of land for the best public benefit under efficient production plans; to provide means for the acquisition of parcels of land on which houses may be built; and to take action leading to the most scientific, economic, and efficient enjoyment of land by the people of Puerto Rico.

". . . . It will be recalled that the Organic Act, which forms the Constitution of Puerto Rico, provides for a maximum of five hundred acres in the possession of any single corporate organization. This law has been a dead letter for years. With this legal basis, the Autoridad de Tierras is seeking to consolidate the new land distribution policy.

"The first large acreage purchased by the Autoridad was ten thousand acres from one of the sugar concerns. This land is being used to carry out the second proposal indicated above. In addition, a ten-year program of home building for

Mr. Hamilton: If the people of Puerto Rico are to derive any benefit from the expropriation of large landed estates engaged in the sugar industry, it will be necessary for the sugar industry to be carried on almost as efficiently as it has been carried on under private enterprise.

I've been impressed in doing the home work for this broadcast by the absence of precise statistical knowledge on practically every phase of the economic and social life of Puerto Rico, but if we rely on the best figures that are available, namely, those published by the Brookings report on *Puerto Rico and Its Problems* in 1930, we find that the sugar industry in Puerto Rico has paid a profit of only 8 per cent; that in 1928, in the same year, banking paid 11 per cent, and public utilities and tobacco, 8 per cent.

Now, the highest estimate that I have ever seen anywhere on the percentage of total production of wealth in Puerto Rico that has gone to absentee owners has been less than one-sixteenth.

I'd like to point out that the American-appointed Governor Tugwell, in an article in the July 23, 1943, *New Republic*, admitted that the efficiency of the governmental service in Puerto Rico has not been improved.[5]

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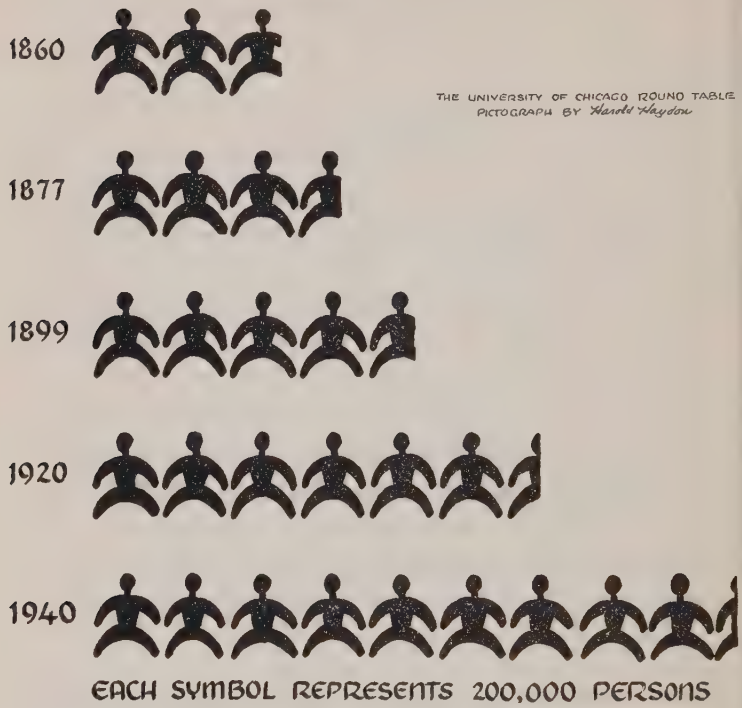
agricultural laborers who have no land or home has been initiated. In January of this year, plans were presented for the construction of three hundred model settlements throughout the island to take care of the small farmer and peon classes, involving over six hundred thousand persons. Thousands of acres have already been purchased for the purpose of this large-scale return-to-the-land movement.

"It is not an exaggeration to state that both politically and economically, Puerto Rico is in a revolutionary period of its history, perhaps for the first time since its existence as a civilized community. The present reform, if carried to its logical conclusion, cannot fail to constitute a radical and startling departure from every form of policy that has preceded it" (Richard Pattee, "The Puerto Ricans," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1942).

[5] "Whether the ability will be found to manage it [the program of land reform] free of what is usually called politics, it is too early to say. The Legislature [Puer-

# POPULATION GROWTH IN PUERTO RICO




Source: 1940 Census

Mr. Wright: Well, Hamilton, you seem to suggest that distribution is likely to make the situation worse because you produce less, and that would make everyone worse off. Do you agree with that interpretation, Senator Marín?

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to Rican] up to now has been unwilling to authorize improvement in the government service, thereby exhibiting the characteristic weakness of democracy. But this weakness exists in Puerto Rico in aggravated form anyway—because of insularity, resentment against foreigners, and so on. If this danger can be overcome, and the sources of real ability and deep loyalty which undoubtedly exist can be reached, genuine progress may be made in the years just ahead" (Rexford G. Tugwell, "Puerto Rico Also Serves," *New Republic*, July 13, 1942).

Mr. Muñoz-Marín: Well, I don't agree with the statistics, to begin with. As you know . . . .

Mr. Travieso: Neither do I.

Mr. Muñoz-Marín: I think it was Mark Twain who said, "There are lies; damned lies; and statistics." The phrase, I should think, would be applicable to the statistics that are available on that.

The benefits of the sugar industry are obviously much larger than that. That is, derived from the figures I gave a while ago, while sugar has increased 120 per cent in production and population has increased only 30 per cent in the last twenty years, still the standard of living of the masses in the sugar industry is approximately the same.

Mr. Wright: What about the question of wages of workers? Judge Travieso, do you think that it's possible to set a minimum wage and improve conditions any in that way?

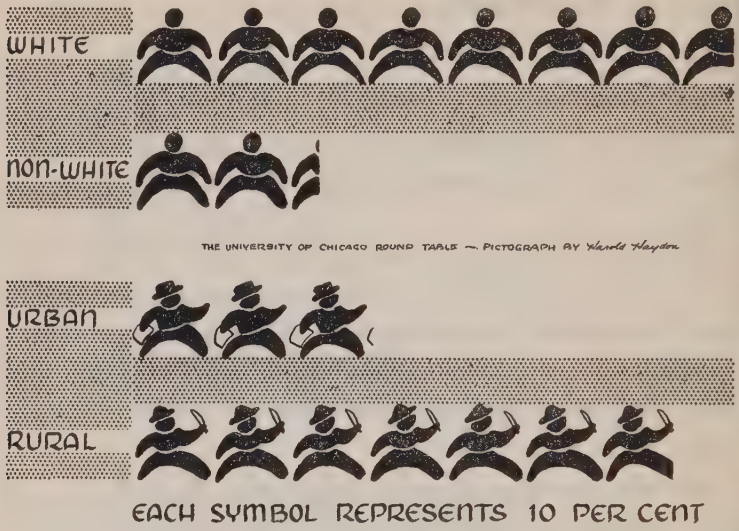
Mr. Travieso: Well, in some cases it is possible to set a minimum wage. Our troubles have come from the attempt to apply the federal minimum wage to the local industries.

For instance, in the needlework factories in the western part of the island, which was giving employment to more than sixty thousand women and girls, young girls, the attempt to apply the federal law compelled the factories to close, leaving about sixty thousand persons without employment.

Then the federal authorities had to appoint a committee, of which I was a member, to hold hearings in Puerto Rico in order to determine what minimum wage should be applied to the local industry in substitution of the federal minimum wage, which was absolutely impossible for the local industries to pay.

Mr. Wright: So there is a possibility of a certain difference in

## WHERE PUERTO RICANS LIVE




Source: 1940 Census

minimum wage in different industries according to their capacity to pay. That seems to me to be a very important way of preventing a minimum wage from interfering with productiveness.

Mr. Muñoz-Marín: Well, and as a matter of fact, the legislature of Puerto Rico has approved, in the last two years, just such a minimum wage law, in which an industry commission is set up. They study the highest wage that the industry can pay and still continue to exist, and then they determine that, and their determination has legal force.

Mr. Travieso: That's exactly what we did in reference to the needlework—examined local conditions and fixed a wage that would not destroy the industry.

Mr. Hamilton: But the wage was fixed too high, was it not?

MR. TRAVIESO: It was too high.

MR. HAMILTON: For the benefit of the workers themselves?

MR. TRAVIESO: Yes.

MR. WRIGHT: What about income taxes? Would there be a better distribution of wealth in Puerto Rico if income taxes were used to a greater extent? Of course, I understand that Puerto Rico derives a large part of its income from customs tariffs, but would there be a better distribution if government went into more economic activities on the basis of a higher income tax?

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: No. It's an error. Puerto Rico doesn't get a very high part of its income from customs tariffs. It just gets about two or three million dollars a year from that, because most of its commerce is with the United States, and, of course, American goods do not pay any tariff in Puerto Rico; there is complete free trade.

But the income tax has been raised considerably during the last two years as a means of attaining a better redistribution of the wealth produced, because then the government can use that money for housing purposes to take care of the unemployed; for education, medical services, and so forth.

MR. WRIGHT: I think we recognize that the problem of production, and particularly of more industrialization, in Puerto Rico is very important. Are there new industries that could be profitably introduced, Mr. Hamilton?

MR. HAMILTON: Yes. Apparently, Puerto Rico is admirably suited for tourism. It has a good climate; it has attractive scenery and century-old buildings.

The island has clay that could be used in the manufacture of pottery. The pulp derived from the grinding of sugar cane could

## LITERACY OF ALL PERSONS TEN YEARS OLD AND OVER

Source: 1940 Census

be used in making fiber for insulating board. It's a low-cost producer of sugar and also a low-cost producer of certain fruits that might be canned on the island.

Now, there are certain difficulties that will have to be overcome. There is a lack of coal and a lack of petroleum. The water-power possibilities are limited because of the rapid runoff, largely due to deforestation, and so forth.

And a very careful study, in my opinion, should be made of the long-range possibilities of economic development in Puerto Rico, by Puerto Ricans, for their benefit.

MR. WRIGHT: Senator Marín, do you think that governmental planning and assistance could contribute to this process of industrialization?

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: Yes, I think this is a point where the American public here in the United States ought to be very interested. The federal government . . . .

MR. WRIGHT: Yes. I understand there has been a great deal of criticism in some quarters of too much governmental initiative in Puerto Rico.

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: No. Well, I'm referring to the federal end now.

MR. WRIGHT: Oh, the federal end.

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: I'll be very glad to talk about that in a minute.

The federal government has spent a good deal of money in Puerto Rico in the last ten years, and it has been spent in good faith and for the purpose of helping the people of Puerto Rico. But it hasn't been spent in an organized way, so that in the next ten years another large sum of money may be spent without essentially correcting the evils that exist in Puerto Rico. That is, Puerto Rico has a headache, and we get aspirin; but what we need is not aspirin. What we need is vitamins and essential (I'm talking symbolically, of course) action to put Puerto Rico on its feet economically so that it will no longer need federal aid in the briefest possible time.

MR. WRIGHT: Do you agree with that, Judge?

## THE USES OF PUERTO RICAN LAND

Source: Department of Interior

MR. TRAVIESO: Yes, I do agree fully with Mr. Muñoz-Marín and I want to call attention to the fact that the per capita expenditure in Puerto Rico of federal funds is below the per capita federal expenditures in each of the states of the Federation of the Union.

MR. WRIGHT: I think we must come to our third question—a question which, I'm sure, all Americans are interested in—and that is the future political status of Puerto Rico. As I understand, nearly all Puerto Ricans are agreed that the present colonial status is unsatisfactory. Is that true, Senator?

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: That is absolutely correct. Everybody in Puerto Rico is against continuation of the present colonial status. They disagree as to what should come after that, but there is no disagreement whatever that it should end at the earliest possible moment.

MR. WRIGHT: I believe that this commission, of which you, Senator Marín, and you, Judge Travieso, are members, which has been appointed by the President, is discussing particularly the problem

of election of the governor by Puerto Ricans. That is a reform with which I believe President Roosevelt has expressed sympathy. Now the question is whether this would satisfy the Puerto Ricans' desire to get out from under the colonial status in any measure. Judge Travieso, what do you think of that?

MR. TRAVIESO: I believe that all Puerto Rico in general will receive with pleasure this grant of more self-government, permitting us to elect our own governor. However, that is not to be the final determination of our political relations with the nation; but that is a matter that probably will have to be taken up after demonstration of our capacity to use this new grant successfully.

I believe, if you permit me to make myself a little more clear, we welcome the election of a governor as an opportunity to demonstrate in actual practice our ability to handle our own local affairs without interference from federal authorities from the continent.

MR. WRIGHT: That is, you would want the elected governor to have ample authority.

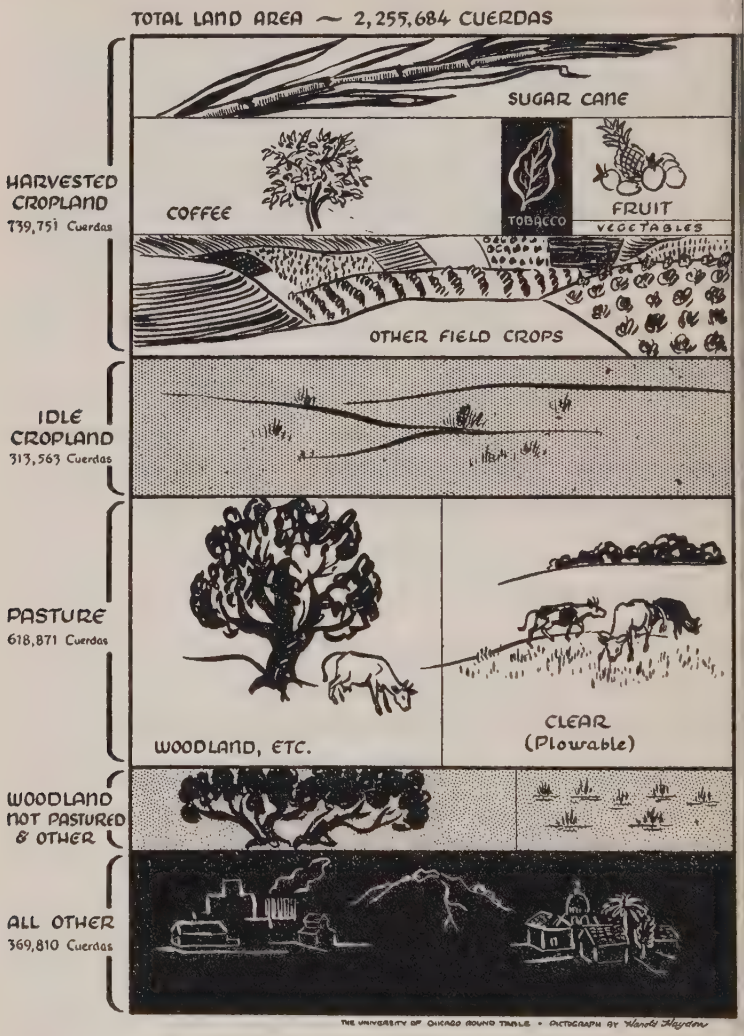
MR. TRAVIESO: We want a real governor, a man who is going to assume, before the people of the island and of the nation, the responsibility of solving the problems of Puerto Rico successfully.

MR. WRIGHT: Some people have said that, because of the great defensive importance of Puerto Rico to the United States, the United States has to maintain a great deal of control there. Do you think there is anything in that, Senator Marín?

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: Well, I think the fact that Puerto Rico is very important to the security of the United States should not be held against Puerto Rico to deny it its rights.

Now, about the elective governor, I would like to give my personal opinion. It is a step in the right direction, but it is by no means a solution of the political and, of course, of the economic

# PUERTO RICAN LAND USE IN 1940




Source: Department of Interior

problem of Puerto Rico. I think the solution, the final solution, is to let the people of Puerto Rico themselves determine what kind of a political status they would like to have as a permanent thing.

MR. WRIGHT: You would give them self-determination on this matter, something which seems to be called for by the Atlantic Charter, and I do not know why we should not give it to Puerto Rico.

But what would the people of Puerto Rico want? I have heard the words "statehood" and "independence" used in this connection in contrast to each other. Would statehood be a possible solution, Mr. Hamilton, do you think?

MR. HAMILTON: Of course, every American thinks that the Puerto Ricans would be delighted to have statehood, but there would be certain economic difficulties that this policy would entail, particularly with respect to the collection of customs tariffs, which would no longer be available as they now are.

MR. WRIGHT: And independence would have some economic repercussions, also, wouldn't it, Judge?

MR. TRAVIESO: I believe so. I am afraid that for the present and until we have a more careful study of either solution—statehood or independence—that independence would be just as unacceptable at the present moment as statehood.

MR. MUÑOZ-MARÍN: But I would like to clear that up a little bit. Economically speaking, independence may be of several kinds. Of one kind it might be ruinous to Puerto Rico; but, of another kind, it might permit the development of a decent civilization in Puerto Rico.

Whenever the Puerto Rican people are called upon to express themselves on this subject, it should be explained clearly to them

# OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED WORKERS OF PUERTO RICO FOURTEEN YEARS OLD AND OVER

Source: 1940 Census

what kind of independence, what kind of statehood, what kind of a permanent political status is contemplated.

MR. WRIGHT: There is opportunity for political invention on this.

Well, gentlemen, we have discussed Puerto Rico, and I think we agree that it is a problem. There is too much poverty and too much illiteracy. There is a problem of inadequate shipping, but that is only temporary. In the long run, there needs to be more production and better distribution. The United States' administration has done something but hasn't done enough.

My thanks to you gentlemen on behalf of the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE. We have been honored by your visit.

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## *More on This Topic*


GELLHORN, MARTHA, "A Little Worse than Peace," *Collier's*, November 14, 1942. *Reports the impact of the war on the Puerto Rican people.*

HEATH, S. BURTON, "Our American Slum, Puerto Rico," *Harper's*, June, 1943. *Criticizes the federal government for its failure to better conditions in Puerto Rico.*

MUÑOZ-MARÍN, LUIS, "Plight of Puerto Rico," *New Republic*, January 11, 1943. *Says that since the war unemployment has grown to the point where it affects almost half the population; that almost half of the people are living under conditions similar to serfdom; and that before the war the income of the submerged 90 per cent did not exceed, on the average, $200 a year per family.*

PATTEE, RICHARD, "The Puerto Ricans," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1942. *Says that both politically and economically Puerto Rico is in a revolutionary period.*

"Puerto Rico," *Life*, March 8, 1943. *Documents by pictures the poverty and problems of Puerto Rico.*

"Puerto Rico Needs Food and Freedom," *Christian Century*, March 31, 1943. *A plea for action on these fronts.*

ROBERTS, W. A., "Impasse in Puerto Rico," *Nation*, January 30, 1943. *Reports the political and economic struggle.*

SALZER, C. B., "Puerto Rico: Test Tube for Reform," *Nation's Business*, February, 1943.

TUGWELL, REXFORD G., "Puerto Rico Also Serves," *New Republic*, July 13, 1942. *States the need for agricultural reform.*

WHITE, TRUMBULL, *Puerto Rico and Its People.* New York: Frederick Stokes Co., 1938.

# What Do *You* Think?

1. In your opinion what is the importance of Puerto Rico as a testing ground for any United States policy of giving social and economic leadership to other parts of the world? Do you agree that the only American way of dealing with the problem of colonies is by not having colonies? Discuss.

2. Describe the basic economic conditions of Puerto Rico. What are the facts on the character and extent of land and resources? What possibilities are there in the diversification of agriculture? Should the federal government of the United States aid such a program?

3. What is the economic nature of the sugar industry in Puerto Rico? Why is absentee ownership a major problem to the Puerto Rican economy? Why is the world market for sugar a political as well as an economic problem? How might political independence affect the economic structure of Puerto Rico?

4. Do you approve of the effort by the Puerto Rican government to expropriate corporate land holdings of more than 500 acres and redistribute them among small farmers on a profit-sharing basis, all under the terms of the Foraker Organic Act passed by Congress in 1900? What are the advantages and disadvantages of such a program?

5. What are the facts on population, industrialization, unemployment, and standards of living in Puerto Rico? What are the merits of Mr. Hamilton's suggestions for bettering the Puerto Rican economy? What responsibility does the United States government have to alleviate poverty there?

6. What is the political relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico? Should Puerto Rico become a state of the United States? Should Puerto Rico become independent? What is the military value of Puerto Rico to the United States? Is the political question a clear-cut issue of statehood versus independence? Are there other alternatives?

7. What are the lessons that can be learned from United States relations with Puerto Rico that are relevant to the larger areas of post-war reconstruction?

# *The People Say . . . .*

*The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the* ROUND TABLE *audience on "War and the Middle Class," broadcast July 18, 1943.*

*

## Timely

As a concerned member of our great middle class, I felt that your discussion today was one of the most timely and down-to-earth that I have heard. We need more on that level—that get right down to informing every man, in language that he can understand, of something constructive that he can do in his own interest. Today, at best, he spouts his favorite columnist.—*A listener from New York, New York.*

*

## To Preserve the Middle Class

Among the things that I did last week to preserve the middle class were: I read the *New York Times* primarily for its verbatim reports of proclamations, addresses, etc. . . . . I listened to the three best radio programs available. . . . . I exchanged views verbally with all who were inclined to discuss matters of greater importance than the state of the weather or whether cats are better than dogs. I exchanged views in writing with persons in other localities who were so inclined. I did my marketing with care, paying attention to prices and quality as well as to ration points. I did these things with the feeling that so long as I keep myself "middle class," with an attitude that is neither plutocratic nor proletarian, the "middle class" cannot *wholly* disappear.—*A listener from Muncie, Indiana.*

*

## Must Define Middle Class in America

. . . . I am trying to interpret what you all meant by the "American Middle Class." We must define that before we decide its place after the war is over. So far it seems to me that it has a habit of spilling over into the so-called "upper class" or dropping at times into the confines of the "lower class." I am sincerely interested.—*A listener from New York, New York.*

*

## What Are We To Do?

I have just listened to your discussion of the "common" man. I am one of these persons, voting for the man whom I think best, but too often he fails to carry out his promises. . . . . What then are we to do: Where can one get a person who will not concede to these few dollars paid him rather than fight for the one who really needs financial protection? . . . . —*A listener from Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

## Dark Future

I am a middle-class housewife and the mother of six children, three of whom are members of our country's armed forces. I am middle class in the sense of believing wholeheartedly in democracy. But I am in the "poor" or "peasant" class, if you will, in the fact that I have never had the full benefits that democracy is supposed to give to American citizens. I, together with the Indian and the Negro, have been practically enslaved in a free country. For my husband, although always a fine citizen and a faithful worker, has never received a tithe of the value in money of the worth of his work and character. . . . . The future looks pretty dark to me—as dark as a past in which my children, my husband, and I have lived on the borderline of starvation, for not days but years at a time. . . . . —*A listener from Murray, Utah.*

*

## Good American Doctrine

. . . . It is refreshing to hear again the good American doctrine when we have been almost submerged by the altruistic plans of the last ten years, that ignore the good old American virtue of individual responsibility and planning.—*A listener from Brooklyn, New York.*

## Confused

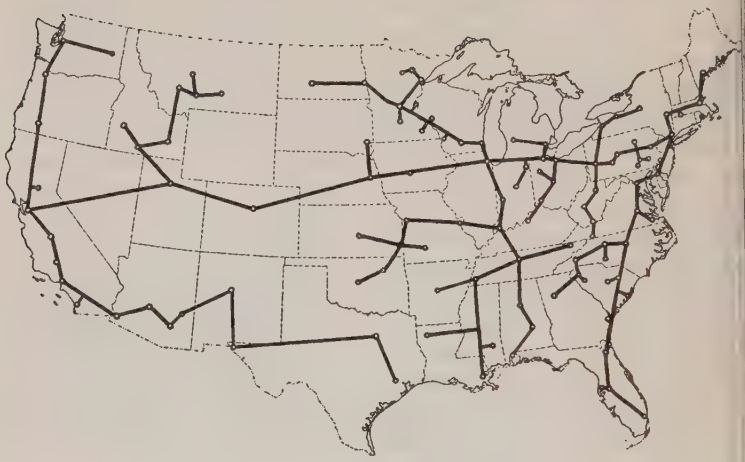
After listening to your discussion on saving the middle class, as an ordinary American citizen, I confess that I am somewhat confused. I believe that I have heard many gentlemen of your vocation in the past tell the American people that there were not classes in our country. Now you seem concerned about the existence of classes. The "middle" would indicate at least two other classes. You suggest using the Army to save this middle class. Which class will pay for this manipulation; which is to be controlled; which is the controller? Please stop trying to confuse the plain American people. . . . . —*A listener from Boston, Massachusetts.*

*

## There Is Monopoly

In my experience, through these many years, I could not help but note the tendencies toward monopoly which have continued to grow larger and larger. . . . . Note also that what we once considered the middle class is no longer considered as such. Yet, there are still a few persons that can come to be considered middle class, but only if they will be rubber stamps, as it were, for the ruling class, for no others get that opportunity. In fact, big business fights down anyone who does not choose to go along with them, thereby smothering the honest and self-made real businessman. . . . .—*A listener from Portland, Oregon.*

# THE ROUND TABLE NETWORK



## 119 N.B.C. Stations Carry the Round Table

2:00 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

| *City* | *Call Letters* | *Kilo-cycles* | *City* | *Call Letters* | *Kilo-cycles* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Allentown, Pa. | WSAN | 1470 | Martinsville, Va. | WMVA | 1450 |
| Altoona, Pa. | WFBG | 1340 | Miami, Fla. | WIOD | 610 |
| Asheville, N.C. | WISE | 1400 | New York, N.Y. | WEAF | 660 |
| Atlanta, Ga. | WSB | 750 | Norfolk, Va. | WTAR | 790 |
| Bluefield, W.Va. | WHIS | 1440 | Philadelphia, Pa. | KYW | 1060 |
| Boston, Mass. | WBZ | 1030 | Pittsburgh, Pa. | KDKA | 1020 |
| Charleston, S.C. | WTMA | 1250 | Portland, Me. | WCSH | 970 |
| Charleston, W.Va. | WGKV | 1490 | Providence, R.I. | WJAR | 920 |
| Charlotte, N.C. | WSOC | 1240 | Raleigh, N.C. | WPTF | 680 |
| Cincinnati, Ohio | WLW | 700 | Reading, Pa. | WEEU | 850 |
| Clarksburg, W.Va. | WBLK | 1400 | Richmond, Va. | WMBG | 1380 |
| Cleveland, Ohio | WTAM | 1100 | Rochester, N.Y. | WHAM | 1180 |
| Columbia, S.C. | WIS | 560 | Savannah, Ga. | WSAV | 1340 |
| Detroit, Mich. | WWJ | 950 | Springfield, Mass. | WBZA | 1030 |
| Florence, S.C. | WOLS | 1230 | Springfield, Ohio | WIZE | 1340 |
| Grand Rapids, Mich. | WOOD | 1300 | Syracuse, N.Y. | WSYR | 570 |
| Greenville, S.C. | WFBC | 1330 | Tampa, Fla. | WFLA | 970 |
| Greenwood, S.C. | WCRS | 1450 | Toledo, Ohio | WSPD | 740 |
| Jacksonville, Fla. | WJAX | 930 | Washington, D.C. | WRC | 980 |
| Johnstown, Pa. | WJAC | 1400 | Williamsport, Pa. | WRAK | 1400 |
| Harrisburg, Pa. | WKBO | 1230 | Wilmington, Del. | WDEL | 1150 |
| Lakeland, Fla. | WLAK | 1340 | Winston-Salem, N.C. | WSJS | 600 |
| Lima, Ohio | WLOK | 1240 | York, Pa. | WORK | 1350 |

## 1:00 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

| City | Call Letters | Kilocycles | City | Call Letters | Kilocycles |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Birmingham, Ala. | WBRC | 960 | Louisville, Ky. | WAVE | 970 |
| Bismark, N.D. | KFYR | 550 | Madison, Wis. | WIBA | 1310 |
| Chicago, Ill. | WMAQ | 670 | Mankato, Minn. | KYSM | 1230 |
| Dallas, Texas | WFAA | 820 | Memphis, Tenn. | WMC | 790 |
| Des Moines, Iowa | WHO | 1040 | Mobile, Ala. | WALA | 1410 |
| Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis. | WEBC | 1320 | Montgomery, Ala. | WSFA | 1440 |
| Eau Claire, Wis. | WEAU | 1070 | Nashville, Tenn. | WSM | 650 |
| El Paso, Texas | KSTM | 1380 | New Orleans, La. | WSMB | 1350 |
| Evansville, Ind. | WGBF | 1280 | Oklahoma City, Okla. | WKY | 930 |
| Fargo, N.D. | WDAY | 970 | Omaha, Neb. | WOW | 590 |
| Fort Wayne, Ind. | WOWO | 1190 | Rochester, Minn. | KROC | 1340 |
| Hattiesburg, Miss. | WFOR | 1400 | St. Cloud, Minn. | KFAM | 1450 |
| Hibbing, Minn. | WMFG | 1240 | Shreveport, La. | KTBS | 1480 |
| Houston, Texas | KPRC | 950 | Sioux Falls, S.D. | KSOO | 1140 |
| Indianapolis, Ind. | WIRE | 1430 | Springfield, Mo. | KGBX | 1260 |
| Kansas City, Mo. | WDAF | 610 | Terre Haute, Ind. | WBOW | 1230 |
| Kingsport, Tenn. | WKPT | 1400 | Tulsa, Okla. | KVOO | 1170 |
| La Crosse, Wis. | WKBH | 1410 | Virginia, Minn. | WHLB | 1400 |
| Little Rock, Ark. | KARK | 920 | Wichita, Kan. | KANS | 1240 |

## 12:00 M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Albuquerque, N.M. | KOB | 770 | Phoenix, Ariz. | KTAR | 620 |
| Billings, Mont. | KGHL | 790 | Pocatello, Ida. | KSEI | 930 |
| Boise, Ida. | KIDO | 1380 | Safford, Ariz. | KGLU | 1450 |
| Bozeman, Mont. | KRBM | 1450 | Salt Lake City, Utah | KDYL | 1320 |
| Butte, Mont. | KGIR | 1370 | Tucson, Ariz. | KVOA | 1290 |
| Denver, Colo. | KOA | 850 | Twin Falls, Ida. | KTFI | 1270 |
| Helena, Mont. | KPFA | 1240 | Yuma, Ariz. | KYUM | 1240 |

## 11:00 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bakersfield, Cal. | KERN | 1410 | Sacramento, Cal. | KFBK | 1530 |
| Fresno, Cal. | KMJ | 580 | San Diego, Cal. | KFSD | 600 |
| Los Angeles, Cal. | KFI | 640 | Seattle, Wash. | KOMO | 950 |
| Medford, Ore. | KMED | 1440 | Spokane, Wash. | KHQ | 590 |
| Portland, Ore. | KGW | 620 | | | |

## STATIONS CARRYING ROUND TABLE BY TRANSCRIPTION

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Buffalo, N.Y. | WBEN | 930 | Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn. | KSTP | 1500 |
| Columbus, Ohio | WCOL | 1230 | St. Louis, Mo. | KSD | 550 |
| Milwaukee, Wis. | WTMJ | 620 | San Francisco, Cal. | KPO | 680 |
| Minneapolis, Minn. | WLB | 770 | Schenectady, N.Y. | WGY | 810 |

## BY TRANSCRIPTION VIA SHORT WAVE

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anchorage, Alaska | KFQD | 790 | Juneau, Alaska | KINY | 1450 |
| Fairbanks, Alaska | KFAR | 610 | Ketchikan, Alaska | KTAN | 930 |

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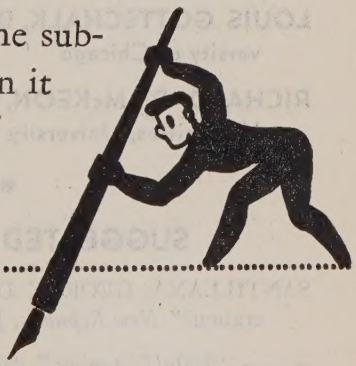

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A University of Chicago Round Table Broadcast

AUGUST 1, 1943

# The Liberation of Italy

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## SUGGESTED READINGS

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———, "Italy Listening," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1943.

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[PRINTED IN U.S.A.]